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# PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

596 571 233

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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[4-150]

# VII

# THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

## 1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 The elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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[p.263]

# X

# THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

## 1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

783 828 829 783 828 829 771 [851]

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [171]

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[201] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[121] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/19 cont./
Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats. These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone, and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463
114

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171]

8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andkhui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

233 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karanelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles: moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[191]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

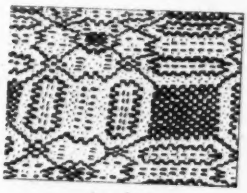

Fig. 40

286 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:
(191)

The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

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302
191

Fig. 77

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

Sarakatsani clothing.

291 We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

(171) Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and [292] their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[071] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

[Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 178 (171) apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118 ]

[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the [513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

5: Kabbadias--129 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/113/

252
142
412

Fig. 95

252
262
(191)

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their chief. [171] Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

## CHAPTER ONE

## THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

### THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [753] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, p. [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

582 /129 cont./
Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 582 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)

7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos, Poimenikā, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[188] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

[171]

/132 cont./

621 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated
602 many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the
62 Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied
602 among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies
182 and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice,
[171] which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 968 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 42 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [213] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

● [171]

34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

/170 cont./

596 626 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription. [585] [593] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

596 613 The Character of the Extended Family.

The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 171 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the
[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
113

42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113]

44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[176] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 191 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is [829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and 171 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 171 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

* * * *

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[819] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

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Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

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In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

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Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

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1. See particularly: Ἀπό τῆς Λογίας Παροικίας εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κώδικα. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

3: Kabbadias--218 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 Greece EH1

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(chapter 5, 51) which allows all conquered peoples the right of extra-territoriality, and to exercise a policy of tolerance toward the institutions of the vanquished, (2) granted privileges to the Greek population.

2. A. Toynbee: Histoire, pp. 193-200, gives a good account of Ottoman administrative ideas.

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The Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Church (the only organization of the Hellenes which survived the disaster) thenceforth assumed the legal functions of the Hellenic nation and represented an authority to which the Christians could turn in order to settle their dispates.

However, this new ecclesiastical authority, at any rate during the first century of occupation, remained more theoretical than actual: first, because no method was provided for carrying out the verdicts rendered; second, because it dealt chiefly with questions pertaining to family and inheritance law, hence its domain was very limited.

On the other hand, during this same period, Turkish law required that all other questions be brought before the Turkish tribunals. Moreover, in order that a certain number of acts and /197/ covenants concluded between Christians by legally valid, they were obliged to take on the form provided by Turkish law.

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Nonetheless, injured patriotism and distrust of their occupiers on the part of the resident Greeks, lax and inefficient organization of the Ottoman administration, finally the establishment of excommunication by the Church in the form of sanctions against those who refused to conform to its verdicts and who preferred to appeal to the legal process of the infidel enemies were sufficient motives for the Greek population to turn more and more to ecclesiastical law. And so the powers of the latter expended in time.

The law applied, moreover, continued to be the Byzantine law, included in the legislation of the Emperors, as well as the Cannon law of the Orthodox Church.

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Parallel with this movement another took shape. The development of a

S 671 171 G 671 175 /197 cont./ local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)

3. Cf. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Τινά περί της δικαιοδοσίας των προκρίτων. — N. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τό Ἑλληνικόν Διχόδικον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΣΟΠΟΤΟΥ : « Τό καθ' Ἑλληνικά Γραμματα της Θεσσαλίας ». — G. TENEDIOS : *La nation française de l'indépendance.*

S 671 171 A third movement must still be added: justice administered by arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.

G 671 175 692 As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law, the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Βυζαντινα Χρονικα Τομος Δ'.

S 671 175 Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private) first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S 671 175 G 671 175 [692] At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.

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enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

First, each point of law has a normative character. However, since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this critierion cannot be used by itself.

It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

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process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M. Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.-- It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered. For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recourse to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

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though their nature in this respect were different from that of other human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

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2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

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577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

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842 placenta under the hearth. (14)

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

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842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος,

[989] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περὶ ἄμφ. προσώπου συλλογῆς,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« Θανάτος καὶ κατανύξεις »,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

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823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

392 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Αρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΠΑΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ιστορία ζώων, ΙΧ, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

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825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
17 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινῶν βίος, τ. VI, p. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

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different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon, there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in the great creative force which dominates the world and which is personified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity. It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18) which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/-officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious Sociology/ p. 16.

19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Ευκλοπ, ' 60, 20, § et 3, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Συλλογικοτικών Διατάξεων collegyd, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 949, etc.

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In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] Tuesday, it is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

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the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion

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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: 'Η Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 825 189 [777] [521] [19]

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in Byzantium: [redacted] ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 731 821 189 [221] [776]

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 191 32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

796 191

the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Εὐμενίδες I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 3, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλαταιῶν, 6,

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

796 [198] These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the 796 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham 536 marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first [533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special [535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
[831] great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
796 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
17 ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over
536 Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
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/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. ff.

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsoligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [191] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

533 /261 cont./
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(171)

the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon. --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"... "in addition he maintained relations with the chosen world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also, he is connected with the snake.

(821) (825) the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse 796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the 789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al- 821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic 825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted 533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.-- See also the preceding footnote on the sun-serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

(520)

37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve and New Year's day, which include wishes for the domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices 789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance (782) follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con- [796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany, [585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy (606) (609) which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once (263) (782) under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

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the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid., pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

(213)
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(823)

say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

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However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden

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objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

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To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance

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of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A] [A], /See p. 429--Analyst/

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
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48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. 9ua!

[771] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

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776 233 789 head of the animals. (51)

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible]

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock 783 233 789 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] [302] [823] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
(372) the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
(823) the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

(191) 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. 202 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

796 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

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in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/

58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The moires spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI, 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the moires are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 8, who also cites the works of

Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδόσεις Α', p. 380, et Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, p. 36-37.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 86 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐκ τῶν ἁγ. Μ. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ Μ. P. G. 61, 168 et comment. — Ἀπόστ. ἐκ Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ἐκ Λαμψάκου, p. 624. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 280 et suiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης, p. 89-90, etc.

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
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(832)

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

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66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐπετηρίδα, Α, 478.

(178) It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
(178) First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
(785) aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

(176) And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

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233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[196] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Περί ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873, one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 239 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

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754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

[171] [113]

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 789 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

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79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Τὸ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ: M. P. G. 61, 188. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

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[114] by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II. Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

(534) 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
221 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
(754) migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
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[171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible], M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at
the same time an explicit interpretation which corrobor-
[171] ates our own. However, this type of protection against
magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also
found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol.
A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice
only protection against snake bites and "evils." The
protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer,
can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated
to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is
true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again
in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that
exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person
must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have
obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be
754 justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
602 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even

/283 cont./

in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rólls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

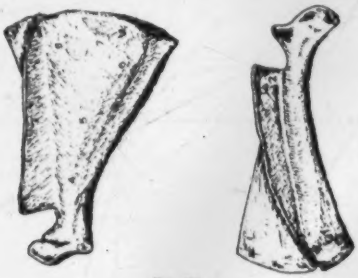

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Βιβλίον Προλεγομενων, p. 19.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ

787
171

/28S cont./

in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5. (Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

[178]

787

Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulderblade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

* * * *

/306 cont./

121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships, the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by aquasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [755] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/326 cont./

representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a (532) figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents (533) the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Αιθικά Λαογρ..., p. 146, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαί Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/328 cont./

796 553 [532] [478] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ΡΞΘ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-258 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΤΙΓΚΟΛΑΝΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 154 sqq.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. ρξδ'

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

796 /332 cont./
755 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
782 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
262

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585 we shall speak later on.
782
764

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek
thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any
(114) animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
● 191 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

3: Kabbadias--386 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. ΦΜΣ' ), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἑλληνικῆς Θρησκείας, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolegomena, p. 84.

(114)

782 771 171

/334 cont./

782 771 [777] Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 171 178 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/

## FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

[844] [538] The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same; they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1) .

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. 593 If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his 604 cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife [605] is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to 834 undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is [589] shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171]

12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/337 cont./

764 775 [152] Flowers are laid on the corpse.

One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] [182] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. The actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may [776] [825] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

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PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
796 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
796 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
191 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
[illegible], index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p. [illegible]) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/389 cont./

The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

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121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

## AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With [771] strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean 071 culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

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121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 191 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

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7. G. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point G. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing. However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

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171 233 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it, even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Cf. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : Αγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 233 191 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas" and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 181 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the

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171 181 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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## CHAPTER II

## THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

### Decline and its Causes

121 182 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

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121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.